

11
QUEBEC EAST

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

J. J. CURRAN, Q. C.

TO THE

ENGLISH SPEAKING ELECTORS

OF

QUEBEC EAST

**Epitomized from the Stenographic Report of
MR. E. J. DUGGAN**

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ENGLISH SPEAKING ELECTORS OF QUEBEC EAST.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

I have already had the pleasure and the honour of addressing more than one meeting of the English speaking electors of Quebec East since the opening of the present contest, and at those different meetings, have covered the principal grounds involved in the present issue. But, gentlemen, we were exceedingly anxious, to bring together the whole of the English speaking people of this district who would respond to the call of the friends and supporters of Mr. Tourangeau (loud cheers), and this magnificent demonstration composed of hundreds of the English speaking electors of the Division is the beautiful and generous response that has been made to the appeal of Mr. Tourangeau that his friends should make one grand rally in his behalf. (Immense cheering.)

A few evenings ago, I promised you that I should take an early opportunity of dealing perhaps a little more fully with the political questions of the day, than I had done at any previous meeting. ("That's the talk.")

Whilst thanking you for the gratifying reception which you have given me, of which any man in this country, no matter his age, position, or name ought to feel proud, and of which I feel even more than proud (loud cheers)—I have, gentlemen, to request your attention that I feel sure you will give me though my remarks should be addressed to subjects other than those which are most exclusively interesting to the Irish electors of this section of Quebec city (hear hear.)

You all know that for twenty years the old conservative party held the reins of power in this Canada of ours ("hear, hear, and they'll do so again.") During all that time we continually heard the unceasing cry from the Opposition of the day,—the self-styled liberals,—that we were a set of corruptionists; that the Conservative party was a corrupt party, who retained control and managed the affairs of the country through bribery and corruption, driving this country to ruin and degradation, ("shame! shame!") Well, after this had been their cry during their twenty years in opposition—after they had combatted our leaders and succeeded in arousing suspicion in the minds of the people—they at length succeeded, one fine day, in obtaining the reins of power, and then became the government of the country ("Yes, bad luck to them!")

I do not propose to go very deeply or extensively into the measures that were carried through by Mr. Cartier—MacDonald or the MacDonald-Cartier administration, but I will say one thing now, before going further—one thing which, I doubt not, will strike home to every workingman in this meeting (and I believe this meeting to be composed nine-tenths of workingmen)—that, during the administration of that conservative government until the last year of the reign of the party, it was not a question with the working-man, whether he could get a day's work, or

whether he could earn a loaf of bread, or his food, or clothing, but it was a question with him, throughout the length and breadth of the land, as to how many hours a day he would consent to work. (cheers.) What is the state of affairs now? The so called Liberals, the Rouges, the Reformers, the Purists as they pharisacally style themselves obtained power, I need not say by what means.

A voice from the crowd, "By stealing letters."

You know that nothing was sacred to these men. The post-offices of the country were not even secure against them and their agents; the Post-office of the City of Montreal was rifled of a letter written by Sir John A. Macdonald to Mr. Pope. ("Shame! Shame!") That letter fell into the hands of the Hon. John Young ("an old fraud"): a caucus of liberals, composed of the leading members of our original reform party, was held to determine whether they should act as gentlemen and return to its rightful owner the letter which had surreptitiously come into their possession, or publish it to the world and at the same time announce their own dishonesty. (Hear, hear.) They decided to publish it. I need not go into the history of the Pacific Scandal, nor into the acts of those who originated that scandal ("No! No!") You know that, whatever be the verdict of history on that question, at all events, the Hon. Lucius Seth Huntington who was found in possession of documents and letters which did not belong to him—letters stolen out of private offices by bribed secretaries—whatever I say may be the verdict of posterity,—one thing is certain—the name of the Hon. Lucius Seth Huntington will go down to posterity covered with infamy, as the perpetrator of these outrages. (Voices "A nice postmaster general be! whose letters are now safe?") Well this party came into power; but before they had reached the goal of their ambition, they had met in solemn council, and had determined upon what was to be the platform of their party. ("Yet they've got no platform.") They made promises of every description, and amongst those promises was that

we should have protection for our native industries. Hon. Mr. Laurier, the present Government candidate, was prominent in the *Parti-National*, and, as a member of of that party, adopted Protection as the main plank of his and their political platform ; (" What is his platform now ? ") When he was returned to the Local House for the Province of Quebec, for the Counties of Drummond and Arthabaska, although that House had no power over the tariff, Mr. Laurier was so full of the idea of the absolute necessity of protection, that he one day consumed three precious hours of the time of the House, making a tremendous speech against a government that had no power to settle the question. (Hear ! hear !) They have taken Mr. Cartwright into the government, who was refused the portfolio of Minister of Finance by Sir John A. MacDonald (" Served him right ! ") What was the consequence ? He (Mr. Cartwright) immediately inaugurated, not a protection policy, but one of uncompromising free-trade ; they have adhered to this free-trade policy through thick and thin ; nevertheless, whenever this principle came into collision with the views of a people whose votes they desired to secure they were protectionists. According to the constituency they were free-traders to the mast-head or protectionists as best suited them. At Montreal, they gammoned some manufacturer, and sent Mr. Thomas Workman to gammon the country with false promises as to what would be done for the people by this hermaphrodite government. When, however, they were appealed to in the House to pass laws that would be beneficial to our newly established manufacturing industries—that would be the means of providing work for those who had been thrown out of employment by this want of protection, they said that protection would have no more to do with bringing back prosperity than would a fly upon the wheel (" Shame ! ") To this Sir John Macdonald replied, " If that is the case, the people who are paying thousands and thousands of dollars to you, are paying very dear for the fly." I need not, in addressing an audience of this kind, in Quebec—where every thing is paralysed under the effect of this free-trade policy,—where you, the operatives, are working

at starvation wages—I need not, after the remarks of the chairman, who has shown what have been the effects of the policy of this government, go further in this question (“No! No! but please God we won’t have it much longer.”) But I do tell you citizens of Quebec that if you will only go along the banks of the Lachine Canal in the City of Montreal, where, a few years ago, the sound of the anvil and the hum of the steam-engine were heard on every side, when manufacturing establishments were at work on every side,—where you would have seen three or four hundred heads of families engaged in the sugar refinery of Mr. Redpath, you will find to-day the stillness of death, where prosperity and activity were every where manifest only a few years ago; you will now clearly perceive what has been the effect of the policy of the present government upon the entire working class and upon those who employed them (“Shame! Shame!”) Although in Drummond and Arthabaska, Hon. M. Laurier and his friends, in stumping the county, affirmed that for country interests, protection was ruin, they come here to-day, to the city of Quebec and claim a verdict from you as full blown protectionists (“Never! Never!!”)

They have told you, gentlemen, that the old government was an extravagant government; that it was leading the country to ruin and to decay; that under it there were too many ministers of the Crown; and too many public employees. “Only give us one chance,” they said, “and we will show you what we can do.” In showing you what they have done, I shall not say any thing, to night, that you are not eye-witnesses of, yourselves, without giving you the facts and figures, to carry out any arguments to the fullest extent (hear! hear!) I shall quote from the speech of Hon. D. L. Macpherson (one of the leading and indeed most experienced members of the Senate) delivered in the session of 1877, a few figures to show you exactly what the progress of this country has been under its present government. I shall show you what we owe this government, and what they have done for us, in a very short time. The following statement shows the increase of expenditure charged to the Conso-

lidated Fund for 1875 and 1876 over 1873, under its appropriate heads.—The increase of 1875 over 1873 was \$2,960,336 ; the increase of 1876 over 1875 was \$717,062 ; and the increase of 1876 over 1873 was \$3,677,398. Such was the result of the retrenchment policy of this great Reform Government. These figures were given in the Senate, with the Hon. Mr. Scott present to challenge every statement made. What do we find upon one item of expenditure, the administration of Justice ? That the total expenditure on the administration of Justice in 1873 was \$398,966 ; in 1875, not \$392,000, but \$497,000, an increase of \$100,000 in one year ; in 1876, not \$398,000, as in 1873, but \$544,091. This, gentlemen, upon one branch of the service alone and with no greater efficiency. (hear ! hear !) We have however still further evidence of the extravagance of the present government. In the Customs Department, we find in 1873 that the total expenditure was \$576,675 for collections in this country ; in 1875, instead of \$576,000 as in 1873, the same item of expenditure amounted of \$682,000 ; and the total expenditure for 1876 for the collection of this part of the revenue was \$721,000, an increase of \$200,000 over the expenditure of 1873 and at a time when the amounts received from customs duties have been gradually but universally diminished throughout the country. (hear ! hear) Well, gentlemen, I shall refer only to one or two more items, and then, I think, you will be satisfied. Let us take, as to the correctness of what I say, for instance, the excise duties.

In 1873, the total expenditure was \$175,000 ; in 1875, it was \$199,253. In 1876, instead of \$175,000, as under the old conservative government, the expenditure had reached \$218,359. These are figures which cannot be contested. Now, gentlemen, I will give you one more item to show how these people have carried out their retrenchment,—how they have managed their system of economy. You know that we have an emigration department. In 1875, when the conservative government was in power, we brought into this country 36,901 emigrants ; they cost \$277,368. In 1875, when these gentlemen

came into power, did they bring in 36,000 emigrants ? No, they brought 16,038 but at a cost of \$302,700. But, if they call this a reform, they did still better the succeeding year, for in 1876, they did not bring in 36,000 people as the Conservatives had done ; nor 16,038 as they did the first year they were in power ; but they brought in 10,900, at a cost of \$383,000 to this Dominion.

They made quite a new departure, however, in the way of expenditures as the totals which I have given demonstrate. But to draw the point somewhat finer, a little calculation and a very easy one to make, shows that under the old government, each of those 36,000 emigrants cost \$7.76 ; in 1875, under the economical management of the present government, each individual cost \$18.90 ; and in 1876, instead of paying per head what the Conservatives did, \$7.76, each emigrant cost \$26.55 (a voice, " a cabin passage"). These few facts, I think, will dispose of the loud appeals that these people are making to the country on the score of economical government (great cheering). But, as if it was not sufficient for them to have destroyed our infant native industries ; to have closed our sugar refineries ; to have shut down our factories ; to have driven our capital and the bone and sinew of our country into the land of the stranger ; to have strangled our shipping interests, and to have trampled the life out of every germ of prosperity that we had ; they went still further. When by their knavery, and their arrant dishonesty, they succeeded in reaching the objects of their highest ambition the Treasury Benches, they found the different sections of our people English, French, Irish and Scotch, living together as one great brotherhood, as a United people, the bands of whose connection were daily becoming closer and stronger. But, as if their full mission was not complete when they had brought about those evils which I have just described ; they threw the brand of discord into the community and terrible have been the effects.

This country cannot progress and prosper, unless the different nationalities who compose it are united in the

golden bonds of brotherly love (hear ! hear), unless the Catholic and Protestant shake each other by the hand, and work for the general prosperity and material development, leaving each man to adore his God after his own fashion and according to his own conscience (cheers.) But what says the record ? only a few months ago, the Hon. Lucius Seth Huntington, Postmaster-General (or the Hon. Copper-Mine Huntington) went to the county of Argenteuil, leaving the side of the Prime-Minister, Mr. MacKenzie, at Ottawa, with whom he had, no doubt, been in conference, with whose sanction he acted, there he did what every Catholic in this land must have condemned him for. He sought to raise a sectional cry against the Catholic Hierarchy, more particularly of this Province, which, in its turn, raised a mighty cry of indignation throughout the length and breadth of the land. Every Catholic newspaper that had the slightest spirit, in the English or French language, poured forth from its columns, the strongest protestations against the language used upon that occasion by the Postmaster-General, with the exception of a few time-serving sheets here in the City of Quebec, that tried to wriggle out of it ; (loud applause) men, liberals of the old school, felt it was their bounden duty to stand up and denounce the language that had been used by the Postmaster-General. I say it here, to the credit of the Hon. Mr. Holton, that he stood up in Parliament and stated he would not sit there, as a member of that House, and of the liberal party, without raising his voice and strongly denouncing the imprudent speech of the member for Shefford ; that he, who had stood up for his party in the past, and who now stood up for it in the present ; who had fought the battle of Reform, as he called it, through so many years—that he was not going to have his old principles, his grey hairs, dragged through the mire to please the fanaticism of the Postmaster-General of the MacKenzie government. Was there a newspaper in the land silent upon the occasion ? Did not the *Irish-Canadian* speak out the truth ? and the *True-Witness* ? Even Mr. Anglin's paper called it an " imprudent speech. " Yet Mr. MacKenzie retained Mr. Huntington as one of his colleagues and it is his govern-

ment that appeals to you for support (Shame ! Shame !!!) was there any excuse for the language of the Postmaster-General ? (No ! No !) There was no election ; the Government candidate had been returned by acclamation (Hear ! Hear !). There might have been a paltry excuse if there had been opposition,—if Mr. Huntington had wished to appeal to the prejudices of the electors of Argenteuil, to bring them over to the government side,—but there was nothing of the kind, there was no election, gentlemen, the bill was there, the venom was there, the fanaticism was there—and it boiled over and poured itself on the Catholic Hierarchy throughout the land. ("We know it.")

Now, gentlemen, I know that the majority of you have followed pretty closely the policy of this great Gael government. I know that each and every one of you has heard, year after year, on the public hustings in this city—at every church door throughout the Province, you have heard—their protestations ; you have seen the newspapers teeming with their patriotic appeals ; and you know what has since happened ; you know how they have carried out their promises. (Ironical cheers).

Now we will see what they have done for this country, and particularly themselves. As I told you on a former occasion, for twenty years the Hon. Mr. Dorion, the leader of the liberal party of this country, and his followers, were all crying out to the people for a chance to govern the country. Mr. Dorion reached power, his heart boiling over with love of fatherland. He had a glorious opportunity. There were questions to be settled at that time which required his vast experience. There were questions of the highest importance to be regulated. Mr. Dorion reached power ; became Minister of Justice, attained the highest position in the Dominion, with the exception of that of Premier. How long did he remain there ? How long did he display his ardent patriotism ? He had been out long in the cold shades of opposition, and when he got into office, he felt his limbs thawing out, and what was the consequence ? He wanted to give

an everlasting example of his overflowing patriotism (laughter) to show how he could sacrifice himself for his country ; and after he had occupied office for a few months he said : " Office is a magnificent thing for a patriot ; I have occupied it for a few months ; but patriotism must have its reward. It is now or never." So he made himself Chief Justice of the Province of Quebec.

The patriotic wave was thus started on its onward course. We had a successor of the Hon. Mr. Dorion from this district here. The district has given one patriot, a great and burning light, who will be pointed to by fathers and mothers, in future generations as an object of emulation for their children to follow (laughter). The City of Quebec sent to parliament, after years of toil and fifteen or twenty five defeats, I do not know which, an honorable gentleman who had vowed, over and over again, to the electors of this City that he was anxious to show his patriotism and to give evidence of what he was willing to do for the advancement of his country and the love of the cause (hear ! hear !). The Hon. Mr. Fournier got to Ottawa and reached office. But the example of his noble chieftain was really too much for him. In spite of himself he felt that the time had come when he must do and die for his country, as his chief had done before him ; and so he sprang, with the agility of a circus man, from the seat he had occupied in the Administration, to a seat in the Bench of the Supreme Court ; and became another victim,—a patriot sacrificed upon the altar of his country (cheers !). Well, gentlemen, this great movement, this wave of patriotism still continued to swell and threatened to carry everything before it ; it left the shores of Lower Canada and swept its way down the Gulf, until it kissed the shores of the fair Province of Nova Scotia. Then, when it had reached its destination, the heart of another liberal—re-form patriot was fired. He said : " We cannot allow the standard to be carried any longer by those Lower Canadians ; it is time that another Minister of the Crown should lay down his life for his country " ; and the Hon. Wm. Ross, like

a lamb led to the slaughter, sacrificed himself for the sum of \$3,500 per year, in a snug little office in the Custom-house of his native province (applause !). The wave continued to roll on, but, gentlemen, do not imagine, for one instant, that any particular province absorbed the patriotic ardor to itself. They all felt the burning desire. This time, the Province of Ontario claimed that it should furnish the victim to be offered as a holocaust for, the safety of this unfortunate Dominion ; what was the result ? It was that we had another bleeding martyr in the person of the Hon. D. A. McDonald, Postmaster General who sacrificed himself for the paltry sum of ten thousand dollars per year (hear ! hear !). I almost feel like shedding tears over the fate of these sad patriots (laughter !). No doubt, after leaving this hall to-night, you will make a rush for copies of the photographs of these people, that you may put them in your albums to be pointed out to your children as models of patriotism in the future (cheers !). But, gentlemen, if you have any disposition of that kind, if you really and sincerely feel that you would like to have these photographs, just wait another moment, I have one or two others to commend to you. Now it is Prince Edward Island that has declared that its turn has come to do something for this sorrowing country—to supply a victim to his overflowing patriotism—to carry out the noble ambition of every great Reform statesman in the land—and the Hon. Mr. Laird seized the flag that had been let drop by the Hon. M. McDonald, and he rushed from the Treasury benches ; and bearing upon his back the sins of his colleagues, if not of the country was led out into the wilds of Keewatue. (Applause !)

Some of the other patriots out in British Columbia, and down in Prince-Edward Island, were just making up their minds to sacrifice themselves, on the same terms, for their country's good, but they were not in the inner circle ; they did not seize their opportunity ; they were not fully cognisant when the day and the hour had come for some other victim to immolate himself. Again, then, the patriots in this province were moved. They said, " we, of the Province of Quebec, must figure once more,

amongst this array of martyrs who have eclipsed the glorious deeds of the men who died in 1837 and 1838,—who shed their blood for their country ”—and hence the Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just from his senatorial chair, where we thought he was going to pass the remainder of his days as leader of the opposition—do not shed tears over his sad fate,—rushed forward, and for the miserable, petty sum of ten thousand dollars a year, consented to come and to live in Quebec as Lieutenant-Governor of his native Province. (Loud cheers) Well, gentlemen, one of the last, but not least, of this gallant band of heroes who have dared and done so much for their country—a man who was more vilified and abused by his colleagues and followers, than any other man in the Dominion ; who was accused of having speculated upon the poor victims in Beauport Asylum ; who was accused of crimes which, according to reform paper cried to heaven for vengeance ; well, who, according to one paper (I think Hector Fabre's) deserved to be hanged ; and who according to another actually smelt to heaven, so great were his iniquities—well, when he had arrived at that ripe stage of perfection, they seized him in their arms, pressed him to their hearts, the Hon. Mr. McKenzie said : “ Here is the stuff of which to make a genuine Reform martyr.” And they took him into the Government and kept him there until his turn came to sacrifice himself amidst the tears of every man in Quebec who knew him. (Loud cheers !) Well, gentlemen, Mr. Joseph Cauchon made the sacrifice for the paltry sum of nine thousand dollars—was it not too bad they could not give him the other thousand dollars. (Cheers.) The Hon. Mr. Laurier who, as a member of the Government, is equally responsible with the whole of them, says : “ Oh ! he was an awful dirty fellow, it is true ; he did stink ; his corruption was great ; but he was a great patriot, and, at all events, if he was not very clean, he was cleaner than when we got him.” Him, they sent out to Manitoba, that he might purify himself by bathing for the next five years in the limpid waters of Red River. (Laughter)

I have found in this campaign, as in every other cam-

paign in which I have been engaged, that amongst one class of our people, one particular argument is used by the Liberals ; they go to the Irishman who has suffered in his native land ; they go to our fellow-countrymen who were persecuted at home, than whom no section of this people know better what persecution is—who know it, not from having read of it in history, but through having suffered it themselves, or having learned it from their mother's lips—a history which can never be forgotten (hear hear)—and they say : Are you going to vote for the Tory party ; look at what the liberal party has done." They claim for themselves the full benefit of all that the liberals have done in the old country,—and that we conservatives must be saddled with all the crimes that have been perpetrated in Ireland ! They use this argument to you on the public platform and in the public press, and they think to throw dust in your eyes—to carry you on by your sympathetic feeling, as if you did not know the history of your country. Who formed the liberal party in Canada and who is the leader of the liberals in this country, today ? Who is the master of Mr. McKenzie, if it be not the Hon George Brown, the man who has trotted out the Protestant horse in Upper Canada when it suited him—who raised the sectional cry and destroyed the old genuine liberal party to which the fathers of every one of us belonged. (Cheers.) What did this great leader of the Reform party do ? On the floor of parliament and in his own office, he was continually whacking upon the big drum of fanaticism and he called us and christened us the *Dogans*. I should be ashamed to repeat, in the presence of any respectable assembly, what he said of our priests and our nuns. (Shouts.) Who is the next man of that party ! The Hon. Mackenzie who, with Geo. Brown and the rest of the fanatics, opposed, through thick and thin, the granting of separate school laws to the Upper Canadian Catholics. I was told, no later than yesterday, by an old respectable man, that we owe to the liberals, the passing of the separate school law. Who fought that battle out ? It was not the liberals but the Hon. Mr. Scott, whilst supporting the Cartier-Macdonald government. He and Sir George were always willing to grant the measure, but

Geo. Brown stood there with his fanatical majority ; amongst them Mr. Mackenzie. These people fought Mr. Scott, and it was only afterwards when a kind of coalition government—a semi-liberal government—the government of John Sandfield Macdonald—got in, that Mr. Scott's bill was taken up and carried through, helped along by the late Thomas d'Arcy McGee. (Prolonged cheers.) The government of that day profited by their position ; they knew, when they got the grasp of power, that the Conservatives who had always fought for the reform of the school law, would not back out, and a certain number of the Reform party, holding office at the time, being willing to abandon their fanatical prejudices against the bill, carried it because it was forced upon them by the Hon. Mr. Scott.

Who are the other shining lights in the party of parity and reform ? Go to any city you like, and what will you find ? You will find as leaders of this great reform party, the old dyed-in-the-wool tories. (Cheers !) Take the city of Montreal, and from Fred. Perry down to Geo. Smith and John Dougall of the *Daily Witness*, each and every one of them is a howling reformer—and these are the men whom liberal orators appeal to you to shake by the hand, in the name of old Ireland. (Loud cheer-). You fought these men in the past, when they called themselves tories, and now that they call themselves reformers I know you will meet them again and give a death-blow to that spirit of dissension which, under the protection of the present government, has appeared in our midst creating sectional division, where all before was brotherly love and good fellowship. (Voices " So we will").

There is one question upon which, at all events, I desire to say a few words. There are, I may say, a great many amongst you, who do not care much, perhaps, about reform, or about conservative principles—who neither care about whig nor tory—but who do care about the grand old traditions ; who have suffered in the old land : who have read its history ; who know what its people had to undergo in days gone by, when fanaticism got the

upper hand ; and in whose hearts and in the hearts of whose children and grandchildren, the love of that land can never die, though thousands of miles away from its green hills and valleys. (Great cheering!) Recognizing this feeling and knowing that you have the ballot which will assuredly strike down the enemy of your race, I would here, where the blood of our French-Canadian fellow-citizens, secured for us the great and glorious benefits of the Constitution which we enjoy. —I ask you to take into consideration, for a few moments, a question which you know full well, but which, in view of recent events, I consider it necessary to refer to, in order that you may be able to meet the handful of Irishmen who are endeavoring to mislead their fellow countrymen to support a man and a government that trod to the ground our fellow-countryman, beneath the heel of the most heinous oppression. I need not go into details of the troubles of the North-West. You are fully aware of the primary cause of that violent tempest which burst over this land, which almost rent asunder the ties of Confederation, which set Lower Canada against Upper Canada, Protestant against Catholic, and which had one Province in the flames of revolution. —That great and primary cause was the sectionalism, stired up by Messrs Brown, Mackenzie and their friends. (Hear! hear!) I ask you, if our French friends had not had fifty five members, bound to act as one man, what would have been the fate of their fellow-countrymen in the struggle? Kiel and Lepine were condemned, one of them to death, both to exile for a time. But there was another man who had no hand, no act, no part in the death of Scott—against whom a whisper of suspicion, in connection with that offence, was never breathed—and that man was O'Donoghue. (Great cheering!) What did this liberal government do for him? ("Nothing"). He had committed no crime; but, being an Irishman, he was condemned forever, during the whole course of his natural life, to live out of this country, and his land, which he had acquired through his industry, was confiscated—not regularly confiscated—but the friends of the reformers pitched upon it, like so many hungry hyenas, and hold possession of it to the present day,—and

O'Donoghue is still an exile and an outlaw. (Shame! "shame!") I think that this subject is worthy of some consideration. (Cheers!) After this iniquitous act had been perpetrated by Mr. Laurier and his party, what next do we find? We find as disinterested, as honorable, and as pure an Irishman as ever breathed, either in this country or any other—we find the Hon. Mr. Costigan (immense cheering) in the House of Assembly, doing—what? He knew the people he had to deal with; he, therefore, approached the subject very carefully, and did not ask too much at once; he realized that he need not expect to get an amnesty, but he went as far as he thought their liberal fanaticism would allow them to go. He asked what he thought no reasonable man could refuse; he asked the government, with an humble prayer, merely to take the question of O'Donoghue's outlawry into consideration. Mr. Costigan moved, "Whereas this House did, on the 13th February 1875, vote an address to Her Majesty, praying that a full amnesty be granted to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles, for all acts done by them, during these troubles, saving only Riel and Lepine and O'Donoghue, and that amnesty be granted to Riel and Lepine, on condition of their leaving the country for five years; thus excluding O'Donoghue from the benefit of such amnesty, and whereas the said O'Donoghue has written the following letter:—The letter of Professor O'Donoghue, is to be found in the journals of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada. In this letter, he begged to state to that Honorable Body, that a great injustice had been done him by the late parliament in excluding him from the amnesty; that he did not propose shouldering the whole burthen of the responsibility of the insurrection, and of the execution of Scott, and the so-called Fenian raid, in order that all those who were responsible might go forth spotless at his expense, purified by the resolution of parliament; that Governor McTavish was the man who had advised the insurrection; that he, (O'Donoghue) was not a party to the insurrection until the 15th Nov. 1867, four weeks after it had occurred; that the case of Thomas Scott was never brought before the Provincial

Government, either before or after the insurrection or murder; that he was entirely clear of the charge; and that he took no part, directly or indirectly, in the execution of Thomas Scott; that the so-called Fenian raid was a misnomer as Fenianism had nothing whatever to do with it. These were Mr. O'Donoghue's words, despite the assertion to the contrary of the Hon. Mr. Laurier, Minister of Inland Revenue, for the time being. After having read this letter, Mr. Costigan requested the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, to look into the matter. That was a very simple request. (Hear! hear!) If your old friend, Mr. Tourangeau, were asked that question, what do you think would be his answer? what would be his vote? Well, the Hon. Mr. Laurier was there, and what did he vote upon that particular question? He voted against any investigation into the case of Professor O'Donoghue. (Shame!) The matter was again brought up; Mr. Costigan again made an application; he moved, seconded by Mr. White of Hastings, a Protestant, "that, in pursuance of an address passed by this House in 1875, a full amnesty was granted to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles, save only Riel, Lepine, and O'Donoghue, and a partial amnesty was granted to Riel and Lepine, that this solitary exception of O'Donoghue has created dissatisfaction amongst a large class of Her Majesty's subjects, of the same nationality as O'Donoghue, and that, all disquiet having long since ceased in the North-West, it is just and proper that Mr. O'Donoghue be placed in the same position with regard to those troubles as Riel and Lepine". Well, gentlemen, if Mr. Tourangeau had a vote to give, he would have said, yes. But Mr. Laurier who now asks you for a vote—when we wanted a vote, then, for O'Donoghue, he voted against him.

A voice, "what vote did Mr. Devlin give?"

Mr. Devlin will have to give us an account of his stewardship, one of these days, and we shall be there to ask him to give an account. (Hear! hear!) Well, gentlemen, let us go on. Since this campaign began; since

Mr. Laurier put his foot into this constituency it appears that a sudden change has come over the spirit of his dream, and, therefore, a certain number of persons who are particularly anxious that Mr. Laurier should obtain your votes, and knowing full well that there is not an Irishman, bearing worthily an Irish name, who would not feel that he, himself, and every one belonging to him, would be disgraced, and would go down disgraced to the grave, if he were to vote for Laurier after the way he treated O'Donoghue—knowing this full well, a certain number of people, not authorized by an assembly like this, but authorized by whom, we do not know, waited upon the Hon. Mr. Laurier, Minister of the Crown, to ascertain what would be the policy of the Government with regard to an amnesty to Professor O'Donoghue. (That's a fraud !) I do not think it was at all necessary to ask a man who had twice voted, with his government, against O'Donoghue, what his sentiments were on that question. They did go and what answer did they get ? Mr. Laurier told them, in the first instant, that if he stood before them, as an ordinary member of the House, he would have no hesitation in binding himself to comply with their wishes regarding the amnesty.

It would be a very fair exchange, if he got the chance, that he should give one vote for O'Donoghue, for five hundred Irish votes in this constituency.

But he goes on to tell you that he is not a private member of the House, that he is a minister of the Crown and a junior member of the Government. Now, gentlemen, here comes the richest part of all. It is worthy the study of an artist to look at this document. It is so consistent, so magnificent, got up so that after he has got in, he can tell you, as it suits him, that he told you there was going to be an amnesty, or that he did not tell you there was going to be an amnesty at all. Because, said he since he has been sworn in as a member of the Cabinet, he has been busy in his county, and he had not an opportunity of speaking on the subject with his colleagues. This is very serious. I consider this a most flagrant

outrage against the Irish people, almost as flagrant an outrage as the vote against O'Donoghue, himself. (Hear ! hear !) This man Laurier has come before you and asks for your vote but declines to give you straightforward answers. In the counties of Drummond and Arthabaska, however, where there are five hundred Irish votes, his friends made outrageously false statements on his behalf, that the government were going to amnesty Mr. O'Donoghue ; he however never mentioned the subject himself ; he never pledged himself to an amnesty ; he left that to Mr. Devlin to do, who was not a responsible party, who did not belong to the Government, and, consequently, could say what he liked. But, Mr. Laurier has grossly insulted these five hundred voters, since, that whilst he had gone through these counties soliciting their votes on the strength of Mr. Devlin's assertion that an amnesty was contemplated—he admits here, where there are an equal number of votes, that, although his question has been ringing through the length and breadth of the country, that he has not thought it worth while to communicate with his colleagues on a matter of such vital importance to Irish catholics. (Hear ! hear !) Why did he not speak to his colleagues on this question, when he went to be sworn in ? why, when he was defeated by the Irish votes in that county, as he will be defeated by the Irish votes in this—why, only last week, when he was closeted in St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal, with Mr. MacKenzie, did he not have an understanding with him ? But he slights and outrages you to the extent of showing that he never thought it worth his while to talk to Mr. MacKenzie as to what will, and what will not, be the policy of the Government on this point.

Mr. Laurier however continued that he might tell them. that the Canadian government had taken steps for the relief of O'Donoghue. What steps ? One moment, he tells you that he had no time to consult his colleagues, immediately afterwards he states, that his colleagues have done something, but, unfortunately, he does not know anything about it. (What a humbug !) If the government do not bring in this amnesty under the circumstances, he

can tell you he never made any pledge. Gentlemen the fact is your five hundred votes are not, in Mr. Laurier's estimation, actually worth twenty-five cents, the cost of a telegram to Ottawa to ascertain what the government intend doing. (Hear! hear!) If Mr. Laurier wished to communicate with the government, he could do so by telegraph and just say: "McKenzie, what about the the O'Donoghue amnesty." It would only cost him twenty-five cents. But the deputation which has been spoken of went from—where? It went from Mr. Lemesurier's store where the Laurierites were in due council assembled, for the purpose of securing the election of Mr. Laurier. This committee resolved itself into a deputation; and this deputation went and asked Mr. Laurier, whom they wanted to return, what he thought about O'Donoghue, and he, in plain fact, told them he did not think about him at all, and they told him they were perfectly satisfied. Let any man read this document and judge for himself of the correctness of my remarks. I think I have pretty well disposed of this question. (Hear! Hear!) I will refer, however, to the last paragraph. Mr. Laurier, having been requested to state what efforts had been made in behalf of Mr. O'Donoghue, prefaces, why should he preface, at all, why should he not tell them what steps had been taken but he prefaces his remarks by giving a brief history of the whole troubles in the North-West. Was not this very consoling—was it not an act of kindness to give a brief history of this little matter, showing also the action taken by the liberals in the connection, and the difficulties with which they had to contend? Mr. Laurier was requested to state what efforts had been made in behalf of O'Donoghue, by the Canadian government, and all he gave them was a brief history of the troubles in the North-West, and the troubles the Liberals had to contend with. But he never told them what *he* had done. Yet we find that Mr. Laurier concluded his remarks amid the deafening applause of this mutual admiration society. Let me tell this deputation that if they are satisfied, you are not. (Cheers.) We have discussed this very remarkable document that has been thrown upon the world by this Minister of the Crown, whose

brilliant talents and overwhelming genius are going to revolutionize the country, but, if he cannot do better than that, I do not think we shall give him our support. ("No! No!")

Before I resume my seat, I shall say a few words with reference to certain things that have appeared in the public press. I may say that the press in which those things have appeared, is not a very extensive one. I will read one little extract to show what one paper is made of. I was going, the other day, to take the trouble of making some replies to certain queries that have been made in this journal, but, really, it is not worth the while. There is one I may refer to for a moment. I request your attention to this paragraph! "various meetings were held in different parts of the city, which were addressed by such excellent men as Messrs. Fabre, Langelier and others against these men, we see arrayed, the spouting Tribault, the hired Curran, the demagogue Vallee, and the hypocrite Tarte." It is well that hard words break no bones. But, the meeting, he says, of respectable Irish Catholics, "effectually wipes out the chances of the *dishonest* Costigan" (cries of "Shame!") I leave you to consider what is the character of this journal, which can thus abuse men of whom it knows nothing; and which can cast suspicion on a man like Mr. Costigan, who is looked upon as a patriot, a scholar, and a gentleman, who has never deserted his post, who, whether Conservative or Reformer was in power, never swerved in the performance of his duty—and yet this vile, little, wretched rag dares to call that man, *dishonest* Costigan. (Intense indignation.)

You will find those people trying to blindfold you, by telling you that the Conservative party have done nothing for the Irish people. I am free to admit that, perhaps, the Conservative party has not done all it should have done, but, I say it has done a hundred per cent more than the Reform party has done. (Cheers!) During the twenty years, the Conservative party was in power, we were never, for more than a few months, without having, at least, one Irish Canadian, a member of the Govern-

ment, to sustain our cause. (Cheers!) Need I mention their names? They are familiar to you. Need I mention the name of your respected fellow-citizen, the Hon. Chas. Alley, who was, for years, the representative of the Irish Catholics in the Conservative cabinet, and, I am proud to say here amongst his own fellow-citizens, that the Irish people, not only in Quebec, but in Montreal, should look up to him as a man upon whom they could depend on every occasion. Subsequently Mr. McGee, and subsequently Mr. Kenny, sat at the council board of the Conservative Government. And the Conservative Government did for Mr. Kenny what this government have never done for an Irish Catholic—they made him Lieut.-Governor of his own Province. (Loud applause!) After he had left the Cabinet, we had the Hon. Mr. O'Connor until the last day of the Government. Now, where is the Irish Catholic that has ever been taken into the Government since the day it was formed? They had the Hon. Mr. Anglin who was entitled, as a leading representative man, to take his seat in the Dominion Government, but the Hon. Mr. Burpee and those who came from his Province, told Mr. McKenzie, "If you take Mr. Anglin into the Government, we will vote against you?" And Mr. Anglin was thrown overboard and made Speaker of the Assembly, where he cannot raise his voice in behalf of O'Donoghue or any one else. Do you suppose that if we had an Irish Catholic in the government, during the deliberations in O'Donoghue's case, that, if he were a man of soul, of honor, with one particle of the fire that invigorates the Irish heart—he would not resign his office, if the Government did not support an amnesty to O'Donoghue? (Hear! hear!)

Where are the great offices we were to have got from this Government? All the offices of any account, filled by Irish Catholics, were given by the late government. The Hon. Chas. Alley, Sheriff, Judge Maguire, the Hon. Chief Justice Doherty, were appointed by the Conservative party. (Cheers!) Look at the Parliament House, and the Court House, where the gentlemen who occupy the position of Clerk of the Crown and other offices of

great emolument, have all been named by the Conservative Government. The facts are there (Cheers!) we have Irishmen filling the highest positions in the country. (Cheers!)

I may tell you, gentlemen, (and I see present here, a Minister of the Crown) that less than twelve months ago, an office was vacant; and the local government, wishing to do fair play to the Irish people, offered me that position of over six hundred pounds per year. I said to Mr. Chapleau, "I am extremely obliged to you; I know your offer is made in a good spirit. But I will not go into any permanent government office; I have too much Irish Grit and Irish Canadian ambition to become the slave of any government by taking a permanent situation. (Cheers!) And I may tell you what was done in my own case subsequently. The Local Government required the services of an English-speaking lawyer to act as secretary in the Consolidation of the Statutes, and without my asking them, the government retained my services for the performance of that duty at two thousand dollars per year. I would not accept any office that would deprive me of the right of standing upon the public platform, and speaking on the questions of the day; I value my independence too much; I have fought too long to make an independent position for myself in my profession; I have spent too many days and rights in the cause and I think I have earned some small share of the confidence of my country-men. (Loud applause).

Whether it was by addresses before Societies; whether it was to speak of the glories of the great O'Connell, or of Moore, or of any of the great patriots, whose days we celebrate, whether attending college examinations endeavoring to urge the young people on to acquire that learning in this country, which was denied to their parents at home, to urge pupils on to grapple with the difficulties of learning, and to become able to discriminate, to be above the influence of vile demagogues,—wherever I could urge on the good work, I have done it to the extent of my ability. (Hear! hear!) I feel that I have done

some good to the cause—that I have consolidated the Irish vote here—that now we shall prove that we are a power in the land. (Loud cheers!) There never was such an opportunity given to the Irish people to show their strength throughout the length and breadth of this country. Now is the time to strike the blow. The government struck you; the Irishmen of Drummond and Arthabaska struck back on the first blow.

Shall the Irishmen of Quebec East be recreant to the duty that is imposed upon them? Gentlemen, at the next general election the Irish people will be as one man, upon this question. (Cheers!) They will adopt the motto of the *Irish Canadian* to remember and avenge this insult upon our people. This recreant minister who comes here, now, with his gammoning words to this mock deputation that waited upon him—you will show him that you are loyal to the old traditions, and the old national spirit, and that in this land where you are contributing your mite to the general welfare, you must have your just rights and will not allow yourselves to be undervalued by any party. (Loud and prolonged cheers!)

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